/382 cont./

354 Since the interior does not offer reliable protection, the occupants are constantly moving in and out, but in the end they must yield to all misfortune and be content with the little warmth given off by the fire.

• 513 They arrange their sleeping places directly on the ground and all around the inside wall. First they spread out twigs, with or without leaves, and flat pieces of bark. Over this they place finer twigs or a great deal of lichen (Usnea barbata) and, finally, a long piece of guanaco hide or seal skin. The latter is sometimes omitted. Formerly they also preferred to use bunches of the [137] long stalks of Poa flabellata, but more recently this type of grass has become very rare here (32). A person lying down to sleep

32. Fred Lawrence called my attention to the fact that Poa flabellata, the so-called tussock grass, formerly flourished abundantly throughout the entire area, but since the introduction of sheep this type of grass is now found only in very remote places. After searching for a long time he brought me some plants which could be identified as this species.

curls up tightly and covers himself with his short back cape or somewhat larger coat. Sometimes they even use a type of bedcover made of several skins pieced together, and this is drawn over several children or two or three adults at once. During sleep they move as close as possible to one another, to give each other the benefit of their body warmth. That is why a single medium-sized skin suffices to cover two to four persons. Not every family by any means owns such a cover (33). The fire itself throws out

33. Hyades (f) :560 also corroborates: "In order to protect themselves from the cold at night, they use a skin of the sea lion or several otter skins sewed together, which they spread over the upper part of the body, leaving the lower limbs outside. They are huddled together so closely that a single skin

•573

/382 cont./
of a sea lion suffices to cover five or six persons" /translated from French/.

sufficient warmth so that everyone gets enough. If a person is cold, he moves nearer to the embers and pays no attention to whether or not he is disturbing his neighbors' sleep. Moreover, during the night everyone turns over a certain number of times, for cold air pours through the loose wall of the hut, or sometimes the fire becomes unbearable. Hence, everyone tries to get a little more comfortable in one or another position.

513 592 There is no definite, obligatory assignment of places. Unlike the custom of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 200), the man prefers to sit on one side of the entrance and the woman on the other, because both of them constantly like to look out. This leaves the back of the hut free for the children. If it is advisable to change places because of bad weather, greater comfort, or some other reason, it is no trouble for anyone to do so. If a man has two wives, /383/ the place between himself and the entrance to the hut belongs to the first wife. We shall speak of this rule below.

513 147 The Indians' sleep is not only extremely restless as such, but is in general neither deep nor sound. We might more accurately call it a light slumber from which everyone awakens effortlessly and so quickly that his mind is fresh and he is completely aware of every local condition. Moreover, even during sleep itself, everyone, so to speak, heeds what is going on in his environment with a very faint attentiveness. He is actually sleeping, but upon awakening he knows a good deal of what has been going on. Even if a person wakes up repeatedly during the night, he does not seem to be tired in the morning, for just as easily as he comes awake, he falls back into sleep. He does not find it annoying to be wakened frequently by the restless movements of another person in the same hut, by the barking of dogs or the screech of an owl, by the creaking of a broken limb or the irregular pounding of the agitated sea. On such occasions I myself would give vent to my ill-humor by impatient remarks, but the Indians around me invariably remained calm.

The same aptitude makes it possible for everyone, at any time of day, to lie down and go to sleep, no matter how much

573 147 /383 cont./ commotion there is all about him. When he wakes up, he feels adequately rested. These Indians are not noticeably fatigued if they must go without sleep for a long time. To me it was inexplicable how lively and fresh they remain, in fact, even continue to work hard, until they have a chance to sleep for a longer time. No matter how tired he was before he rested, I never saw an Indian struggling to shake off sleep, even though he was awakened again immediately. No matter when he is approached, at any time of the day or night, one finds him in full possession of his mental powers. This is not the place to explain such a condition which, in the last analysis, is probably a particular condition of the nerves. In winter they sleep considerably more than in summer (34).

34. Hyades (q) :221 pointed this out: "In general, during the winter the Fuegians sleep more and exercise less, and during the summer they devote much less time to sleeping and work more" /translated from French/.

461 147 Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the Yamana are not capable of continuous, daily hard labor, much to the chagrin of European farmers and employers for whom they often work. Their work is more a matter of fits and starts, and in these occasional efforts they can develop considerable energy for a certain time. After that, however, they show a desire for an incalculably long rest period during which they lie about doing nothing, without showing great fatigue. If a man has worked on a farm for only a few days, /384/ he quits and says he cannot go on working. It is obvious that repeated irregularities of this kind make the European employer despair, but the Indian cannot help it. It is his natural disposition. He lacks the nervous energy, so to speak, for regular, prolonged activity, no matter whether this is a natural bent or whether it is a lack of cultivation in that direction. It is wrong to accuse him of lassitude and laziness. Any kind of pressure toward systematic, prolonged work seriously affects his health and weakens him because he is unaccustomed to it (35).

35. I observed the same thing among the Selk'nam and had an even better opportunity

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/384 cont./
to learn about their unusual habits of sleep and work (Vol. I, 201).

513 What we have said about the unusual habits of sleep among the Yamana applies to both adults and children. No one rests on a comfortable bed or in a safe, quiet spot. If the ground is only more or less dry, a tired person will lie down for a nap anywhere and at any time. Our Indian, however, never sleeps sitting down or squatting (36). He must be lying down, even if he has so little

36. Spegazzini (a) :171 maintains the opposite, but he is mistaken.

space, for instance, in a canoe, that he can only curl up in a very cramped position. A person rarely sleeps with his head somewhat elevated, but if he does, he needs only a short tree stump or a stone, or even a large lump of meat that he will roast for himself the next morning. Since the sleepers generally do not stretch out -- because they would then lack adequate cover -- and since they crowd as closely together as though they were penned up, the small hut provides room at night for very many living beings (37). The

37. Hyades (f) :560 emphasizes this: "They are so accustomed to shrinking their bodies into as little space as possible that a small hide suffices to cover them completely when they are squatting" /translated from French/.

places in the hut are not all the same, however, since some persons are lying dry and protected, while others are more exposed to the wetness of the ground, the heat of the fire, or the disagreeable coolness of the night (38).

38. Hyades (q) :343 concludes: "As many as 20, and sometimes more, squat or lie there, veritably forming a heap of flesh around the central hearth" /translated from French/.

356 The Yamana by nature have little understanding and feeling for the most important requirements of general cleanliness. Their

/387 cont./

342 used except when the wind was too strong, in which case only one or the other was temporarily left open.

Inside the dwelling each family chose its particular place which it retained without any special boundary lines (42).

42. There were such boundaries in very isolated cases, however. Hyades (f) :556 says: "Twice at Orange Bay we saw huts with two or three interior compartments, niches made by vertical tree trunks. These niches served as quarters for the night for three or four persons" /translated from French/.

Members of the same family preferred to gather together on one side of the fire. Usually a single continuous fire extending the [373] entire length of the hut was kept going. In exceptional cases however, when members of an individual family chose their places on either side of the middle line, each family made its own fire, so that one could tell how many families there were from the number of separate fires. One could sometimes observe the same thing in the ordinary dome-shaped hut if, for some reason, two or three families were occupying it together for a few days (43).

43. Bridges (MM:XII, 11; 1878) once wrote: "There were three men, five women, and seven children in this wigwam, and three fires lit in different parts" /cited in English/.

• 573 The wide areas on either side of the center line where the fire was burning were the sleeping places, where the Indians squatted or lay stretched out during the day. Bunches of the long [Poa] stems of Poa flabellata grass with its narrow leaves were preferred for a pallet. This served very well and became musty only after considerable time. It was then removed and replaced by a fresh layer. The lower part of the outside covering of the hut was 372 made tight to keep off the wind and to make the fire burn evenly. 342 Otherwise the smoke would be blown about, since the few

/387 cont./

372 342 openings in the top prevented it from escaping easily. The entire structure was well insulated, for it was meant to offer special protection against the rigors of the climate. Since it was built in the damp western part where dry firewood was not available in large quantities, the Indians managed by constantly carrying green wood into the hut and piling it up. In a few days it was dry and only then was used for burning. Even a supply of tussock grass [513] (Poa flabellata) was kept on hand, for this litter for the bed had to be renewed at least every two weeks.

251 The men supplied the necessary food for their families on communal hunting expeditions which were usually so successful that a good share of the booty could be stored away for a few days. This helped in periods when the hunt was seriously hindered by continuous stormy weather. They were anxiously concerned about having an abundant supply of meat always on hand, if not perhaps a whale /388/ lying on the shore. Otherwise the gathering of many people in the same place in a securely built hut would not only be pointless, but even dangerous. Inevitably the inhabitants frightened the game farther and farther away from the dwelling, which made hunting increasingly difficult. Then only ample stores kept off the threatening specter of hunger.

342 362 221 A hut for several families was occupied only in winter. Wanderlust was too strong to detain a family in one spot any length of time for other reasons. The people who built a communal hut would perhaps come back to it for a second winter, but not after that, for the game supply had been exhausted over a wide area, and they themselves were kept away by the boredom of sitting still. The arrangement described here might be referred to as the "winter hut." Near it a sort of winter supply was piled up. The very safe shelter provided somewhat comfortable living [517] conditions, and during the long periods of inactivity together, favorite myths and legends were repeated, or the people told each other stories of their own experiences and Hamus stories. Communal huts were not built in the east, and the reason is simple: weather and hunting conditions were much more favorable there.

342 593 After a few families have settled in the so-called multiple-family hut, they not infrequently erect another building directly beside it for the half-grown children, and this is appropriately known as the "children's hut." It resembles the first hut in shape

/612 cont./

181 his farm. It is generally said of them that they are unreliable and unpredictable. As a matter of fact, one never knows if tomorrow they will keep the promise they definitely gave today. Their feelings and plans change quite /613/ suddenly and aimlessly, like the weather of their homeland. They resemble fidgety birds of passage who feel happy and inwardly calm only when they are moving again in their swaying bark.

The ultimate reasons for their unrest and their urge for movement are easily uncovered. The care about their daily food requirement commands their entire attention, and in order to obtain it they are dependent on the opportunities offered and the propitiousness of the moment. This means not missing an opportunity and, if suddenly confronted with a choice, making the right one. The individual usually does not have much time to consider; if he wants to maintain his advantage, he must act quickly and decisively. Hence he remains, as it were, in a state of tense inner expectation of circumstances that may change at any time of day, in order that he may instantaneously be master [513] of the situation. He does not even sleep soundly, and when he wakes up, even during the night, he is quite fresh again (p. 26). Just as he sees himself in the midst of an incalculable stream of natural forces, so his luck in the hunt will unexpectedly appear in this or that unforeseen form, and if he is subjectively ready for quick action, he will successfully seize his opportunity.

Perhaps the Indian is not consciously aware of this subjective state as we have described it, but he always acts from and with a feeling of great certainty that he will surely attain his goal. Long experience helps him to size up the given situation correctly at a glance, or to calculate the impending dangers, or to comprehend the limits of what is possible. He is almost never wrong in his decision. In part his inner restlessness may be explained by the fact that he is constantly observing the play of natural forces and the habits of the animals hunted, adjusting to both at the same time. Thus he succeeds with the superiority that is confident of victory to master the first and evaluate the second to his advantage. Sometimes one thinks he faces great danger when storms gather or the waves run high, but he is too intimately acquainted with inanimate nature to be mistaken in his judgment. Sometimes a European

/716 cont./

854 515 when the child is dipped into the water all at once, she never forgets to rub it off with her hand flat (144).

144. A few Europeans at least mention the fact that the newborn baby is repeatedly dipped in the water. First of all Bridges (i):21: "Within a few days after birth the child was dipped in the sea, with the idea of strengthening it" /cited in English/. Not only Lovisato (b):150, but also Hahn (a):806 evidently rely on him, for the latter writes: "Soon after birth, the child is dipped in sea water or in fresh water. This washing by immersion is repeated up to twice a day for one or two months" /translated from French/.

Summer and winter the child must submit to the ablutions, often even out in the open. Afterward it is always safely /717/ wrapped in a soft skin in which it is warmed for at least half an hour. For about ten weeks the young mother carries out the ablutions very conscientiously, after that she allows some interruptions, and finally the six-months-old child is only rarely rubbed off.

854 ● 513 The Yamana mother makes a sleeping place for her infant in almost exactly the same way her neighbor on Isla Grand does (Vol. I, 372). If she cannot hold the baby in her arms, she spreads a soft otter or guanaco pelt on the ground with the leather side on top. Over this she spreads a layer of down from wild geese and lays the child on its back. She lifts up the edges of the piece of leather and folds them over each other, so that the bundle is loose; there is no strapping of any kind. The infant stays this way hardly more than an hour, for with its movements it gradually loosens the sheath and is again exposed. Meanwhile it has become thoroughly warm, for it is almost always only after it has been washed that it is bundled up. Usually it sits quite naked on brush or on a piece of leather. The infant is not given clothes or diapers.

854 If the mother's hands are not busy with other work, she naturally has her darling on her lap. She squats on the ground with her legs bent, and he sits or lies between them. She usually

/739 cont./

573 self-sufficiency. Actually, each one goes his own way, completely unconcerned about the others. It makes no difference to him how his brothers and sisters get along and what they do.

[855] Older girls, however, at their mother's request, must tend the youngest of their brothers and sisters occasionally. They do so, but more because they are forced to than because of a natural urge, and they are relieved when this minor duty is over. Beyond that one almost never sees brothers and sisters of their own accord helping or supporting each other. They are, so to speak, indifferent toward one another; in fact, they even go out of their way in order to be quite undisturbed. Hence it follows that they almost never quarrel or fight with one another. A child would never voluntarily help a brother or small sister at work or join them in some chore imposed by the parents. If two children are given the same job, they do not, for example, agree to do it together, but each one strikes out for himself toward the same goal. Thus two girls going to hunt berries and two boys out to gather dry sticks go off separately and in different directions. On their return they do not meet on the same path until shortly before they reach the hut.

One never hears parents reminding children that they must love their brothers and sisters. If occasionally adult brothers and sisters stand up for each other and defend one another it is out of a feeling of family solidarity. The mother carefully ar-
● [513] ranges the sleeping place of her boys separately from that of the girls in the small family hut (179). In the canoe they are

179. Hyades (f):573 says emphatically: "During the night the boys and the girls form separate groups according to sex" /translated from French/. A separate allotment of space in the hut for each child is unknown to the Yamana (p. 26).

separated on either side of the fire. Altogether, brothers and sisters are separated more than many Europeans realize, but even so they forgo any co-operation in work or play.

/909 cont./

X881 S77 516 posture. Everyone stays in the seat he chose for himself at the beginning, where he remains quietly and stiffly, avoids all unnecessary movement, and almost continuously stares into space in front of him. He does not turn his head in all directions nor does he move his whole body back and forth. Even at night when the dances are going on, no matter whether a single person is moving about or several at a time, some persons continue to concentrate in their squatting position and do not even lift their eyes. A person who is doing some urgent manual work avoids making any kind of noise or noticeable movement. If someone would disturb his neighbors by making something, he must leave the Kina hut to do it. The individual has every right to expect that his reflections will not be disturbed in any way by other participants. Everyone is concerned about this even before the start of the affair.

X881 S77 201 With the same purpose in mind, the leader gives his instructions to individual adults only in brief, unobtrusive words or solely by means of signs. All of them are very good at this and there is no misunderstanding. The spotmen communicate with their protégés in the same way; even outside the Great Hut, in the chores and exercises, they limit themselves to only the most necessary words. A /910/ stranger can hardly believe how many thoughts, wishes, and directions these children of nature reliably communicate to one another by means of inconspicuous signs.

X881 S77 513 2. Sleeping. In other respects, too, the adults quite noticeably restrain themselves by giving in very little or not at all to comfort. In his own dwelling, as we know, everyone stretches out on his bed as he pleases, rolls from one side to another, and exuberantly extends his limbs in all directions. Here in the Kina hut, however, a person does not dare behave in even a slightly relaxed fashion. If an old person now and then becomes very tired, he lies down, curls up, and remains motionless. He is gladly permitted a brief rest. Younger people must remain upright during the day.

Our Yamana are unfamiliar with the pressure of a schedule because they are dominated primarily by the mood of the moment. The entire group of participants does not get to sleep until

/910 cont./
the individuals have calmed their inner excitement at the dances each evening. These are the occasions when everyone is free to get up and, to the accompaniment of the dance movements, loudly pour out his feelings and impulses. Sometimes this is done with profound, trembling emotion. Accordingly, it is late before those present can lie down to sleep, but they can do so earlier in case they have spent the day in tiring work and hunting. When quiet has been restored after the final lively dance movements and everyone has resumed his place, the leader, with a vigorous, drawn-out hō ho ho ho hō, gives the sign for the night's rest. They all join in the same call and, in a somewhat softer voice, repeat this hō ho ho ho hō. Immediately most of them wrap themselves in their covers and lie down to sleep. One or another of them will remain seated if he feels so inclined and continue the customary song in a low, soft voice.

Their sleep is not entirely quiet, however, for the song may never cease entirely and the many people lie close together. Our Yamana are used to this. In the early morning the candidates are awakened by their sponsors and immediately sit up again. After another one and a half to three hours, about six o'clock, the adults get up. The leader himself gets up when he thinks it is time and again gives the long, lusty call hō ho ho ho hō which he made the night before as the signal for going to sleep. At this summons the others also end their rest (333). The general move-

333. This happened at my first initiation in accordance with the old custom. Two years later, lively Santiago awakened the candidates, including myself, at about five o'clock with a thundering voice. The adults were allowed to sleep for another good hour, while a few women arranged the feeble fire.

ment in the Great Hut rouses the last sleepers. Everyone immediately gets up, straightens his sleeping-place, and squats down again. /911/ He rubs the sleep out of his eyes with his finger and then combs his hair. This is the whole of the morning toilette. Formerly most of the people went outside to a brook and washed, the ulwaia being accompanied by their sponsors. Nowadays all

/911 cont./
the younger people wash with soap in the morning (334), usually

> 334. They have adopted this habit from Europeans, and they cling to it even in the Great Hut.

in front of the Great Hut. A few women busy themselves with the long fire and make bright flames leap up, while the men join in the continuous singing and give themselves up to their thoughts. The night's sleep lasts only six to seven hours.

3. Meals. Formerly during the cieraus celebration the adults were also obliged to observe some restrictions in eating, as they personally saw fit. To this day the Yamana uphold at least the rule that all food must be prepared exclusively in the secondary hut. In former times the kitchen women brought a meal from there to the people gathered in the Great Hut only twice a day, namely, a bite a few hours after arising and abundant portions toward four o'clock in the afternoon. The sponsors arranged it so that their protégés were usually not led outside before the first meal and that they were again present during the second. In case an adult missed the meals, he was permitted to go to the cookhut and receive something to eat there. It was not customary for extra food to be distributed in the Great Hut for latecomers after these two periods.

In general the Yamana eat rapidly and even more so during the Kinaus celebration. Food is brought in from the cookhut as secretly as possible. Since the preparation of the food cannot be hidden, the adults and, above all, the children outside in the camp who do not take part in the celebration are led to believe that it is devoured by Yeščin or by other spirits (p. 761), but not by the inmates (336). In order to carry out this deception, at a

> 335. At the end of the celebration the candidates actually do appear very weary and weak when they come back to the actual camp and they are quite generally pitied (p. 829).

certain time before the meal a few men and women inside the

/941 cont./

X881 524 he is not prevented from doing so. Often the pressure of too great a throng makes this imperative; if everyone crowds together, there is almost no freedom of movement.

After a while the enthusiasm for this game subsides. Suddenly, in a loud voice, someone will spontaneously mention another game or will start its rhythm. Most of the participants become silent rather quickly and, without hesitating, switch over to the new game. /942/ A third and even a fourth game will follow in the same way, entirely according to the inclination and whim of the company. They will enjoy themselves for an hour or two, until they are thoroughly satisfied. If, after that, a good many of the people seem listless and bored, the leader will inconspicuously indicate that everyone should now seek his sleeping-place.

X881 ● 513 533 The action and physical exertion have made most of them very weary, and without delay they begin to prepare for bed. One person or another will meanwhile lead into the customary low singing and continue it until he, too, gives himself up to sleep. Finally only the uš̌wā̆ala and a few sponsors are squatting upright in their places. When they, too, finally lie down, only a single voice will carry the song through the early hours of the night, until it is taken up by another. As we know, the singing may never entirely cease, for malevolent spirits must be kept at bay and outsiders must be convinced that all the inmates are constantly alert (p. 781).

X881 When the last game is over it is the duty of the uš̌wā̆ala to kindle the fire from the remaining faint embers, so that it will extend from one exit to the other and radiate abundant heat. All the services for the assembly and all the chores within the čiéxaus hut are, as we know, incumbent upon the candidates.

X881 524 The above description presupposes that the social games are held in the interior of the Great Hut. On a warm, quiet summer evening they may, for the sake of variety, be transferred to a level place outside, directly in front of the Great Hut. A few enwomen will first start a fire, chiefly in order to illuminate the entire group. At a signal from the leader, the adults with the uš̌wā̆ala in their ranks, go outside and huddle together beside the fire. Gradually the singing begins, the dance movements following its rhythm. The games change in exactly the same way as

/1056 cont./

(4) Annu sikája, kĕmĕtawáguan, Hitapúan.
Now then, thou, be merciful [to me], my father.

This petition seems to be a general one, but it is used especially by a mother whose child is ill, so that Watauinéiwa will not let it die, but make it well again.

(5) Hitapúan, uiáina háia wetutéld.
My father, let me go, I am making it known to you.

A person who petitions in this way is really asking for good weather. Hence he announces to the Supreme Being that he will soon start on his trip. /1057/ -- BD:66 gives ūīaina, "to let walk about, to let wander" /cited in English/, and BD:560 adds tuteki, "to show, cause to see" /cited in English/. -- The Yamana also often address the Supreme Being in spontaneous utterances. If a family has planned a long trip, the father will get up early from his bed, move to the hut entrance, and look appraisingly at the clouds or the direction of the wind. If good weather is in the offing, he says to the-one-up-there: "I thank thee, Hidáuan, that thou hast sent us favorable weather!" If the prospects are not so favorable, he fervently requests: "Hidáuan, thou knowest that we wish to travel on, be kind to us and send us good weather!"

(6) Annu, hipikíja kĕmĕtawĕx maaliálan,
Now then, to us all be kind every day,

Hitapúan.
my father.

[513] Before a family lies down to sleep in the hut, one of the older members repeats this saying. It sounds like a short evening prayer containing gratitude for the present day and a request for success on the following day. According to the people who explained it, the emphasis is on the request that Watauinéiwa let all the members of the family be well and happy during the coming day.

X156 /1405 cont./
785 time with his legs crossed under him, at the same time holding
516 his arms crossed over his chest. The impression that the circle of motionless, painted white figures made upon me was indescribably strange.

X156 It has been mentioned several times that very little sleep
785 is permitted for the participants, and it comes during the four or
●513 five /1406/ hours before daybreak. As ancient custom recommends, the qualified yékamuš sleep in the sitting position described above. Some of them draw their legs up slightly and slide back a little so that the bent back touches the hut wall while the neck still holds up the piece of wood. A person who can no longer do this may lie on one side and stretch his legs a bit, but he absolutely must have the piece of wood under his neck. The yeʃáčel live in the old trees from which this šalalakína wood is taken; thus, the person who keeps the piece of wood behind his neck retains his yeʃáčel-xéǫla even during sleep. The posture indicated induces many lively dreams during sleep. The sensitivity and irritability of the nerves are increased to the limit by the fact that, after the strain of the uncomfortable sitting position, even sleep at night is considerably curtailed; this is the goal sought by this means and by the limited diet and prolonged silence.

X156 According to Yamana belief, a full-fledged yékamuš mere-
827 ly seems to have the same type of body as the ordinary human being (p. 1308). The transformation of the body begins here in the lóima-yékamuš for those uswáaléxamuš who have experienced a real call. First the entire face is affected. After the medicine-man school has continued for a few days each apprentice, according to instructions given by experienced yékamuš, begins the following process which he may not interrupt. He takes a ball of fine wood shavings from the lemon-yellow wood of Berberis ilicifolia (it is known as čílěr), dips it into the white tumaráapu powder and rubs his cheeks with it. For about half an hour his hand moves slowly with scarcely perceptible pressure; then he stops for the same length of time and begins anew. Each apprentice carries on these motions by himself; he does it for a shorter or longer time, but he must continue the process all day long. Its purpose is to make a new, softer, more delicate skin appear in place of his actual skin. When, after continuous